THE
MADRAS REVIEW

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COMMENTS

Providence, it would seem, has entrusted Great Britain with the thankless task of assuming the role of benevolent guardian of immature nations. For the present, this mercy is to be conferred on Asiatic countries. From India to Burma, from Burma to Mesopotamia, from Mesopotamia to Persia, it is a logical course. The young democrats of Persia, however, are irreverent towards this angel-nation. When out of overflowing altruism, Britain offers Persia protection from Bolshevik menace and promises to purify her internal administration and give her a scheme of sound finance why it is that the Persian Parliament is not very anxious to ratify the Anglo-Persian agreement? We suspect that the young democrats are close students of the policy of Britain in India. Lord Curzon has spoken on this subject in the House of Lords with his accustomed ability in answer, it is said, to several criticisms directed against this adventure. If it was the Persian Government that pleaded for the kind intervention of Britain, why is the Foreign Secretary so anxious, as is evident from his speech, to appeal to the Mejliss to ratify the agreement? It is noteworthy that H. H. the Aga Khan protests against the military interference of Britain with affairs in Persia.

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Since the publication of the Reform scheme, we had never come across a more convincing answer to its critics than the one written by the Madras Publicity Bureau. Here it is. "Some people will tell you that the new Legislative Councils will have no power. This is nonsense....Some people will say the new Legislative Councils will only bring new taxes. This too is nonsense." Again, "Somebody will say that the teaching in the Schools and Colleges only does the children harm. What nonsense is this?" Note the following information. "Mr. Gandhi, we hear, is a saint and Mr. Muhammad Ali is a very clever man." After reading the above, we are convinced that the Madras Publicity Bureau has justified its existence and nobody has, therefore, any right to say that it is a burden to the tax-payer.

* * *

In criticising the action of a backward community whose social and educational advance engages the sympathetic attention of all, the critic always runs the risk of being charged with unfairness and want of sympathy. We all desire that the social barriers which divide Indians from Indians must, as far as possible, be removed in the larger interest of our nation. Our aim is the brotherhood of all communities. But this does not mean brotherhood in dishonesty and unblushing mendacity. Our readers must have perused the resolutions of a few hundred Adi-Dravidas against Non-Co-operation. If the Adi-Dravidas consider that British rule is the justest and best, they are welcome to say so but the silly threat of open and honourable fighting will not deter other communities from pursuing their own course in political matters. It is wrong to alienate the support and sympathy of your own countrymen by pretending to be friends with the British Raj because India is not going to be eternally under that Raj. The Adi-Dravidas have a right to demand from other communities better treatment of them but the fact that they are socially and educationally backward gives them no special privilege to pass resolutions in a manner which is revolting to all sense of decency.

* * *

Babu Aurobindo Ghosh has contradicted, through a Bengali chela, some political views attributed to him by an enterprising Andhra contemporary. These views were before the public for some time past. It seems to us rather pedantic that this contradiction should come through a circumlocutory route instead of straight to the papers. Not being trained in the diplomatic school, we are unable to understand

the reason why this Bengali leader avoids giving his opinion on the political problems of the hour. This sort of silence may be clever but a leader is not worth his salt if he sits dumb at the most critical period of India's history. The storm will not wait until the philosopher arrives. But India will produce, why it has already produced, many Ghoshs to lead the nation to victory. A people that hang upon one individual for their inspiration deserve to be wiped off the earth.

* * *

With that unselfish altruism which is the outstanding characteristic of the man, Mr. Gandhi appeals to the spirit of renunciation inherent in the Brahmins to make room voluntarily for the Non-Brahmins in the Councils and in the Government services. We heartily endorse this appeal. The best and surest way of killing the Non-Brahmin movement is to recognize the grievances of that community and try to meet them even at a sacrifice. Will the Brahmins do it? The vast majority of Brahmins will see the wisdom of this course but they are not in a position to help. It is most scandalous that the selfishness of some aspiring mediocres among the Brahmins should enbitter the two great communities, at a time, when unity is essential. If only the Brahmin leaders of Madras had yielded to the claim put forward by the Non-Brahmins in regard to the number of seats in the Council how much harmony there would not have been in this City? It is the duty of the Brahmins not to encourage any one among them who, for his own selfish interest, makes himself the cause of creating bitterness among the two communities.

* * *

The Convocation address delivered by Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayengar contains nothing original or striking, but it is to be commended for its simplicity and brevity. Much stress has been laid on the ideals of a real University. The following remark, coming as it does from the Vice-Chancellor, will afford much food for the Non-Co-operators. "During the 63 years since the University was organized, it has bestowed its degrees on 18,500 Graduates. Among these there have been able administrators, able teachers, able lawyers. But you will search in vain for any solid contribution to the sum of human knowledge among this magnificent number."

* * *

On deep consideration, it seems to us that the Nagpur Congress is unnecessary for two reasons. Firstly, the Special Congress has once for all decided in favour of the adoption of the policy of Non-Co-operation. A Special Committee was appointed to draft instructions which have since been published. It only remains for the nation to carry out the policy. If the Congress meets Nagpur simply to reiterate what was decided at Calcutta, this is unnecessary within four months. If the Congress proposes to revise the Non-Co-operation programme, then no greater calamity will befall political India. Indians will discredit themselves and the Congress. The wise and prudent course is to suspend the Nagpur session. Secondly, every delegate pays Rs. 10 as delegate fee and on an average at least Rs. 50 to the Railway Companies. Why should the nation spend such a large sum of money in trainage, pandals, etc., when there is really nothing important to discuss? Apart from these considerations, our practical experience is that every new session of the Congress creates new cleavages and parties. And there is no doubt that at Nagpur there will be new conversions and secessions. In the larger interest of the nation as a whole, it would be politically wise and economically sound to discontinue the holding of the Nagpur session.

* * *

Although we are not aware of any strong condemnation of the policy of the Indian Government towards the Punjab last year by Ex-Premier Asquith, we are glad that the situation in Ireland has roused him to deliver the following attack on the Government. "Cold-blooded and deliberate murder had been traced to the uniformed servants of the Crown and he maintained that things had been done in Ireland by the authority and incitement of the Executive, equal to the blackest annals of the lowest despotism of the European world." But the official version throws the responsibility on the people. Far away, we are unable to say which version is correct but, in the interest of humanity the outrages on either side must be stopped and peace restored. Such things however do not enhance the reputation of Great Baitain in the eyes of the world.

* * *

Reuter learns that the French Premier goes to London on the 28th instant to discuss questions arising in the Near East with Mr. Lloyd George. Some newspapers have published this telegram with head lines indicating that it is in connection with the revision of the Turkish Peace Terms. This news is too good to be true. At any rate, the complications arising in the Near East along with the discontent in India as well as the ever growing Bolshevik menace must suggest to Britain that the sooner she attempts to modify the Peace Treaty, the better for herself and for the peace of the world.

* * *

It was an evil hour when we attempted to poke fun at *Janmabhumi*. The very possibility of the existence of souls 'without' besides souls within was enough to terrify us. Now this Journal informs us, in a theosophically-philosophical vein, that not only do souls exist within us and but also above us and around us. After this, we must resign ourselves to our fate.

* * *

A special cable to the *Hindu* informs us that the *London Times* strongly supports the Burmese demand for more generous treatment regarding representation on the Indian Legislative Assembly. It considers that Burma should have at least 6 seats. The *Times* knocks on the head the mischievous agitation which is inspired by financial interests for the separation of Burma from India. This is happy news.

APPEAL FOR UNITY.

Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar has written a fine letter to the Press to mark his re-entry into the political arena. In it, he makes an earnest appeal to all parties to join hands. We feel certain that he is not likely to succeed in his laudable endeavour for various reasons.

In the first place, we must point out that his diagnosis of the present situation is not correct. The difference between

the Liberal and the Nationalist is very wide. The former is nearer to the Government while the latter is nearer to Mr. Gandhi's movement. The Liberal does not believe in the principle of Non-Co-operation; or rather he thinks it suicidal as a working remedy. The Nationalist accepts the principle and also part of the programme adumbrated by the Congress, although he differs from one or two items of the Non-Co-operation scheme. If there were no differences between the two so far as the principle of Non-Co-operation is concerned, at least they might meet on a common platform to discuss the programme. The Non-Co-operation movement, in spite of Mr.Seshagiri Aiyer's vigorous condemnation, has come to stay. Although repression may kill it for the present, it is bound to arise again and again. The conviction of the majority of Indians is that Non-Co-operation is the best, if not the only weapon, for a weak and powerless nation to resist the tyranny of the powerful. In different ways, this movement will assert itself. Hence any formation of political parties must take account of this fact. It is easy enough to settle the differences in programme than to settle the difference in fundamentals. The Nationalist is therefore likely to co-operate with Mr. Gandhi than with the Liberal. The future political parties will be formed on this basis. The Non-Co-operators—that is all those who accept the principle even if they do not accept the programme of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Gandhi's followers will eventually find themselves on one side and will form the Non-Co-operation party. Against it will be arrayed the Liberals and all those sundry elements which, either by conviction of by fear, now oppose Mr. Gandhi's movement.

Secondly, Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar does not suggest the course of action which he wants the country to adopt. If, along with the appeal for unity, he had suggested how he proposes to remedy the Khilafat wrong and the Punjab wrong, he would have carried more conviction with us. Theoretical appeals for unity do no good and even if the personality of Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar succeeds in effecting some sort of unity, it will not last long. Does Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar think that the nation can afford to sit quiet in the face of the insults flaunted in her face by the bureaucracy? We have from the outset stated that the policy of this paper is to examine each scheme on its merits unbiassed by the personality of the person who puts it forth. If Mr. Aiyar had given a scheme of work which he has in mind and which he proposes to place before the country as an alternative to Mr. Gandhi's movement, which he condemns, we regret to say, with unnecessary vehemence, he would have been entitled to demand from us a consideration of it. But, we suppose, the absence of a scheme from him is due to the fact that his diagnosis of the present situation is wrong. Instead of attempting to preach to his countrymen, on their duties, should he not have, as an honest lover of his country, said something on the atrocious murders in the Punjab on the very first occasion when he can speak on politics? Should he not have said something about the Khilafat when the whole Muslim community is agitated over it? We have no hesitation in saying that his appeal is one-sided. While there is an anxiety to be impartial towards all parties he has himself taken up the side of those who are discrediting the Non-Co-operation movement?

And thirdly, Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar ignores the fact that the country is no longer lead by the old leaders to whom he is making his appeal. The Non-Co-operation movement has sorted the true leaders from the false. The test of a man's partiotism is not now platform virulence. It is some real, conscious sacrifice for the country. Many leaders in Madras to whom he is making his appeal have not made any sacrifice worth the name. Some of the talking gramaphones among them have deservedly receded into the background. There are, indeed, some notable exceptions. The younger generation, which was all along watching and helping, has taken upon itself the task of organizing the country largely because of the petty and unmeaning manner in which the so-called leaders fight with one another. If love of country were a common factor in all, should the method of exhibiting it create so much parties and cliques? The younger men are rightly disgusted with these cliques. Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar's appeal does not take account of the temperament of the younger leaders. They are the men who give strength to Mr. Gandhi's Non-Co-operation movement. They are the men who are behind all progressive movements because they are not cold, calculating jobbers. The future is with them and any leader who wishes to carry on a movement in spite of them has little chance of success as in the case of Mrs. Besant. Mr. Seshagri Aiyar must have, by this time, alienated their sympathy by the manner in which he has handled the Non-Co-operation movement. Still if he can give us a scheme which will appeal to the lofty idealism of the young, and if he can indicate the method by which that scheme must be carried out as an alterative to the Non-Co-operation movement, he would have done a really patriotic service.

To work for unity is indeed, a noble task. But the problem is how to bring about that unity in the present temper of the country? The true leader is he who is able to carry with him the majority of his countrymen in action. But this is impossible unless you take account of the feelings of that majority and endeavour to frame a scheme which will be based on a recognition of its feelings. If Mr. Seshagiri Aiyar can give the country any such scheme, he would have contributed something to the solution of a crucial question. As it is, his laudable endeavour has little chance of gaining acceptance in the country.

SOUL-FORCE.

Can we, my mother, say we pine
  For freedom, and so soon forget
Thy Panjab children—tortured, slain—
  And clasp the aliens' hands, still wet
With blood, and unrepentant heart?
  They deem us slaves, and would again
Aim at thy breast their poisoned dart.

Can we, who heard our Panjab moan,
  In long- drawn pain, and famished hope,
Meet at their councils—meek in tone?
  Or, in their death-trap courts still grope
For justice, lost with liberty?
  Can we still make our children groan,
In their slave-making schools, to die?

Far better, welcome pain or death,
And dare our foes to do their worst.
We will not speak with bated breath.
But, from the house-tops, though we burst,
Self-rule we claim, our birthright still.
Soul-force is stronger still than death ;
And, though we die, we will have our will.

TO VOTE OR NOT TO VOTE.

By Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar.

I

The anxiety of Government and the Anglo-Indian community is well reflected in the "Madras Times" when it writes "It is highly desirable for the sake of all candidates that the poll should reach the highest possible total. . . . There is no surer or quicker way of scotching Gandhi-ism and all it stands for than by securing a maximum poll on November 30th." Is not this almost a replica of what appears over Mahatma Gandhi's signature on our Declaration books: "I have not the slightest doubt that the safest and most effective form of Non-Co-operation is complete boycott of the Councils." Those who are in the thick of the fight on either side see the real battle.

(1) We have less than a week to show how many of the taxpayers in your street or village accept the Reforms and how many refuse to accept.

(2) We have less than a week to show how many of the taxpayers in your street or village are prepared to allow Indian men and women to be killed, flogged or dishonoured by Officers of Government without fear of punishment or censure from Government or even determined resistance on the part of the people.

(3) We have less than a week to show whether the Mussalman taxpayers really feel for the Khilafat and place it higher than the chances of getting some petty advantages by entry into the Councils.

NOTE: To every single sympathiser in the cause:

You should consider it your personal duty to spend the next one week at least in explaining in your neighbourhood and to friends why they should not go to the polling station. Do not depend on or wait for others to do anything that you can do. You can do a great deal within these seven days. Stop your usual avocation for this single week. It is a critical occasion when your help is wanted.

November 30th. False reasons may be concocted to explain away the defeat of Government at the polls. The candidates are interested in supporting such explanations. But let us not give room for any allegatjons that there were no facilities or freedom for voters to go to the polling booths.

Declarations: There is no doubt the vast majority of voters will refuse to vote. But actual signatures in our Declaration books may not be completed within the next week. The work of taking signatures in the books should go on even after November 30, and completed before the Councils are opened. The position of those who by force of the Government rules steal into the Councils with a few caste or partison votes will soon become ridiculous.

Your Vote is Valuable: Yes ! But do not shy your stone till you can reach your mark. Keep your ammunition till you get your range. Use your vote for your country ; do not shy it at the nearest candidate. Your country and Gandhi want your vote.

II.

By Mr. C. P. Sundara Row, Kambainallur.

It behoves every Indian to pause and think before he gives by his conduct next week his decisive answer to the call of the British Parliament. He can by voting, give his imprimatur to the claim that the Government shall hereafter be considered to be one by consent or by withholding it show it up as one hitherto based on force and broken promises with no safeguard against any such lapses in the future. It is for each man to ponder deep on the main issue and decide what should be the response of every self-respecting Indian.

We are on the eve of great happenings. There are forces in India which are even now throbbing with an energy which to be beneficent must be wisely lead and properly controlled. A vast and wondrous change has come over the land which has altogether transmuted our ideals of public work. For where is the Indian whose heart is never sick, brain dizzy and spint restless with the memory of things and words he will but may not forget ? Our hopes have belied our fears, our fears our hopes belied. Reform and Repression, Rallying and Ratting Rewards and Reproofs have all eaten their way into the very heart of a helpless Nation—a House, alas, divided against itself. And to-day we are face to face with a situation which is perhaps the most critical in our modern history. The issue before the Nation stands in all its deep reality—Co-operation or Non-Co-operation.

Let us dispassionately analyse what each course implies ? What are the essentials of Co-operation? Co-operation implies to put it briefly, though perhaps a little pedantically, equality of status and opportunities, liberty in thought and action, and fraternity in aim and interest. Gokhale laid down as an ideal of public work in things essential unity in things non-essential liberty in all things charity.' Tilak promised responsive co-operation. Gandhi in Amritsar pleaded for a loyal response to the Royal call. How do things stand today ? Can we base our Co-operation on any of these standards?

Have we the status of full citizenship even in India not to speak of the Empire ? do our people have the same opportunities so that all may work for the common good. Let Fiji, Africa-East and South-Canada and even the Reports of the many commissions that have recently sat in India, answer. The Press Act, the 'Rowlatt' Act and other ill-starred measures of that ilk that adorn our statute book, after ten years "Responsible" association of eminent Indians in the Imperial Executive Council, bear eloquent testimony to our rights as British Citizens. Is our Ideal the same? No we are not to say what we would have. We must yet be on our probation. Are our interests identical ? Our currency and foreign trade policies are sufficient commentary. Have we mutual confidence and regard for each other ? The Dyer Appreciation Fund, the Anglo-Indian Association, the I. C. S. Association stand out too prominently to be forgotten and forgiven for the sake of a few noble souls whose sense of justice is not united by clime or color. There are true Englishmen who have lived loved and worked in

India, who have always held that the manifest destiny of India is to attain to full Self-Government in whose work Britain was loved and honoured whose memory has for ever restrained our just resentment against others of his race who though of British blood are not of British Heart.

We have again and again been told that we are not the proper judges of the time and measure of our advancement in political responsibility, and that the interests of the masses are not safe in the hands of our classes—would Labour vouch it is so in England. What is most monstrous we must prove our mettle in a race more ludicrous than that of Gilpin weighted with ill-adjusted and fragile bottles, riding on a borrowed back in ill-fitting cloths, unable to distinguish cheering friend from jeering foe, riding helpless on amidst a derisive crowd. The future Indian minister—the hope of some among us and the despair of yet others—has all these handicaps and in addition a few hurdles and sundry obstaces to negotiate before he can run into the winning post.

All this speaks to a lamentable lack of harmony in ideals and unity in methods of work. Starting with premises fundamentally irreconcilable and aiming at ideals essentially at variance with each other, it is no wonder we have a medley of rules and regulations hedging in even the inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing provisions of the Act. Mr. Montagu spoke of anomolous provisions which were said to be inseparable from its transitory nature. Has there been any attempt to round off such angularties? The resulting effect of these has unfortunately belied the professions of the minister, who spoke of leaving details to be worked out by rules so as to make further ordered development easy.

Is not the method of framing these a further lesson and warrning? There has been an absolute want of imagination and sympathy. Most of those whom these vitally concern are more often than not in the dark and while some are kept out altogether, the few that were admitted into the sanctum have confessed that their representation has been of little effect. The wonder is that these happy few still hope in co-operation with such simple faith and endurewith true christian patience such slaps in the face. Is there any Indian today who would be coward or fool enough to claim that he enjoys the full trust and unreserved confidence which alone can call for honest and full-hearted Co-operation? Is there at least any pretence at any equal partnership of duties and responsibilities? Not much out of sweet and mellowing speeches which have of late proved a kinship with the scraps of paper theory to combat which the Indian soldier starred foreign climes with his blood and the Indian ryot made mighty efforts by providing money and material.

While thus all elements of honest co-operation are absent the elements that go to mar and warp even true Co-operation, *viz.*, Domination, Patronage, Influence and Concession stalk the land and contribute to the low standard of public morality just at present.

What response then can we now make to his Majesty's call for a common determination to work for a common purpose for the common good sinking unessential differences yet maintaining essential standards? Royal words these instinct with the same feeling. When erstwhile the message of hope and sympathy salved years ago the wounded heart of his Indian subjects. Has the action of Government been in accordance with this message? If it had been interpreted to the people of the land in terms of sympathy, confidence and trust what might have been the result? Of all things that were ever spoke or writ, the saddest are those it might have been. But in the face of all the events of the year—for the tongue slayeth more than the sword—and the cold neglect if not worse of the Government in India towards the loyal advice of the best among us what can even the least self respecting of us to do but refuse to be partner any longer to this Brasspot and Mudpot Co-operation. Must we still act a lie in thought, word, and deed and kiss the leg that kicks us? May we not say "I have no wish to embarass you but I cannot brook this indifference and insult to all that is near and dear to me. I refuse to be a party however indirect to perpetuate condidition of affairs which does not bid fair to alter the new dispensation. I have borne all with patience and simple faith in British justice but disappointed still am still deceived. I am a helot in my own land. I am unable to raise my voice with any effect against the injury and insult again and again heaped on me. I cannot discuss any common platform on which I can work with you under these conditions. I would have equal Co-operation not the subordinate Co-operation of "Apke waste" people whom it is easy to 'samjas.' I am ready, ever ready to respond loyally and gratefully to the precious call of my soveriegn. But my soveriegn's servants would not let me do it as an equal partner in the privileges and responsibilities of the Empire and the only thing left for me in the face of the repeated outrages on national honour and self-respect is to refuse to give by my vote even an implied consent to bring on a state of affairs where I see no reparation for the past, no security for the present, and no hope for the future.

THE INDIAN STATES.

POPULAR MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL RELATIONS.

By Mr. S. Ramanath Aiyer F.S. Sc. (Lond) M.R.A.S.

III.

In his momentous and monumental "History of Aryan Rule in India Mr. E. B. Havell says that in the temple records of South India, one still finds the most detailed statements of the Indo-Aryan system of *Local Self-Government* as outlined in the Codes of Kautilya and Sukracharya. He thinks that Megasthenes was not exaggerating when he stated that popular assemblies of the South held the power of Kings in check, though the five great assemblies to which he referred were different from the local assemblies administering village affairs. He is of opinion that the former constituted the Imperial Parliament the members of which taking precedence after the King's ministers, and that the five classes represented were:-first, the village communities; secondly, the priests; thirdly, the physicians; fourthly, astrologers; and fifthly, the King's executive officers. The representatives of the first class safeguarded the rights and privileges of the people; those of the second class controlled public religious ceremonies and administration of temples; the physicians directed state sanitation; the astrologers fixed the auspicious times for public

ceremonies and foretold coming events; the King's officers supervised collections and the expenditure of revenue and administration of justice. The archaelogical researches show from inscriptions on the walls of temple mandapams which formed the local council chambers and town-halls that the same system of village unions under the control of the King's officer which existed in the days of Chandragupta Maurya, was maintained in Southern India in medieval times.

These village Parliaments, though responsible for the supreme government for payment of taxes, had complete control over the collection of them. The lands not reserved as Royal domains or dedicated to temples or religious purposes, belonged to the Assembly and not the state. Mr Kanakasabhai in his "Tamils 1800 years ago" shows that the distribution of the village lands among the cultivators was in their hands, both when fresh clearings were made and holdings were taken over by the assembly in default of payment of taxes. An inscription of the 10th century reveals a Chola King Sri Raja Raja Deva seated in the College-Hall adjudicating in a case of non-payment of tax for three years. He empowered the village community to sell the land in auction. If the Sabha or Assembly neglected its duties towards its constituency the Maha Sabha or the great Assembly of the next largest group could interfere to punish the offending members by fines. The King could also fine or punish the Sabha for maladministration.

There is abundant evidence to show the Sabha conducted business by means of Committees such as water Committees which attended to public wells, reservoirs and irrigation works; garden park Committees which looked after the garden where flowers were culled to be used as offerings to gods and for garlands for public ceremonies; and also orchards which provided fruits for Brahmins in temple service, for pilgrims and for travellers; temple Committees, for administration of temple endowments and charities, not entirely under the control of Brahmin custodians; and general Committees to administer other functions. Historical records prove that the popular assemblies had similar powers to those of Royal Courts of Justice in cases which came under their jurisdiction. Prof. Krishnaswami Iyengar points to the temple inscriptions at Madura which specify rules for the election of members of the local assembly. The edict shows the ancient tradition of popular elections. The property-qualification of a member was a *vedi* (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of tax-paying lands) and a house. Age was limited to above 35 and below 70. Educational qualification was also taken into consideration. The minimum knowledge fixed was that of a *Mantra Brahamana* and capacity to teach it. The wonder of it is that there was mention made "even of a woman going on the Committee of Justice." "Those who were virtuous and well conversant with business, who had acquired wealth by honest means, whose minds were pure and who had not served on any Committee for 3 years, had a right to be nominated." "Those who had served on former Committees but had not sendered their accounts were disqualified." There was provision also "for mere [illegible] of members being excluded from office"—a wholesome safeguard against undue favouritism in any form.

The method of organization and the official administration of the Chola Kingdom were *exactly similar to* those of the Chera Kingdom and both were according to the Aryan principle. The village was the unit; a certain number of units formed a district (Nadu); a federation of *Nadus* formed a divisions (*Kottam*); and a federation of divisons formed a province *mandalam*). Each of these different groups was in charge of a military or royal chief who acted as an intermediary between (the Local assembly and the supreme council.

This Indian political system prevailed in the Deccan and the Rajaput states and in the Kingdoms of Upper India known as the five great Indies. Todd in his "Annals of Rajastan" says, that "in those ancient kingdoms, regal authority was exercised not by a single ruler but by a council of noble families and other states whose political organization was purely republican. The general assembly and the excutive committee controlled all the affairs of the community. But whether the central authority was monarchical, or an oligarchy or republican, the village was the political unit of the state and right of the soil was vested in the family of the freeman as it continues in Rajaputana down to the modern times." In Deccan, the extent of the liberty of the subject was carefully defined. The King must never act upon his own opinion (ii 5-4) " but upon the opinion of the majority " (i 232-3) " Public opinion is more powerful than the Kings, as the rope made of many fibres is strong enough to drag a lion" (iv 7-838-9)—With reference to Sukracharya's authority which was absolute at the time, Mr. Havellavers that it is not that of an obscure pamphleteer airing his personal opinions, or of a village Hampden risking his neck in defence of popular right. He was the exponent of ancient popular tradition which every King was bound to respect in those days. Neetisastra was then a text book for the King's education."—Likewise, the organization of the Magadha Empire was no new system. It was only a development of the old Aryan system. In appreciation of its value, Mr. Havell asserts that the numerous regulations and ordinances detailed in the Arthasastra were not arbitary creations. He adds:—They are a digest of polity recognized by traditions of Indo—Aryan Government adapted to the special circumstances of the time by Chandragupta and his council—a system of Government which, in principle at least is strikingly similar to the principle of British Raj. He seeks with justice to define and defend the character of the Indian constitution in the following words:—" The Ancient Aryan rulers of India, were confronted by political, economic and social problems in many ways similar to those with which modern British statesmen and social reformers are struggling and their solutions of them according to all the evidence of History were much more satisfactory to the people at large than any which modern Europe has found. The freedom and general happiness attained by the people of Great Britain with the help of Parlimentary institutions and the richest revenues of the world can hardly be compared with that which Indians within the Aryan pale enjoyed both before and after the 5th century—the time which we regard as our dark ages and theirs!"

Who will now hold up the absurd and absolutely unwarranted theory that India had never enjoyed a constitution

according to modern ideas; that India is an absolute immaterialist in regard to the modern democratic world; that unless she is put through a prolonged period of probation she will be considerably disordered by so severe a shock as the sudden recognition of her full fitness for Self-Government?

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

In the course of a long letter to the Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office, Mr. H.S.L. Polak, Honorary Secretary of the Indian Overseas Association, writes as follows on the policy of racial segregation.

It would appear, from Lord Milner's statement in the House of Lords, in July last, that it is the intention of the Colonial Office to extend this policy to neighbouring British territories, and so far as possible, to the territory to be administered under Mandate in Tanganyika. If this be so, it would seem that His Lordship intends not only to enforce a policy in Kenia (and to extend it to neighbouring British territories where at present it is non-existent) which finds no counterpart so far as my Association is aware, anywhere in His Majesty's Dominions save in some parts of the Union of South Africa—a notorious exponent of reactionary racialism but to apply it also to a territory to be administered under the League of Nations whose Mandate it is legitimate to presume, does not contemplate a racial differentiation of this character. My Association is reliably assured that, so far as the Tanganyika Territory is concerned, the introduction of segregation will invovle the adoption of a new principle and the reversal of the German practice, and it ventures to remark that in this respect at least a comparison between British and German methods of administration is not favourable to the former. It is disconcerting in the highest degree to learn that His Majesty's Government are now made to appear to adopt, enforce and justify a policy that they have so often and so energetically protested against when enforced by the authorities in South Africa, both before and after the Boer War.

Professor C. F. Andrews who, at the instance of het Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, pa ida visit recently to East Africa and made a thorough investigation in loco provides an illuminating commentary upon Professor Simpson's conclusions in the following extract from his report:—

"I do not think that, when all the facts are finally and fully considered, the only solution of the sanitary problem will be found to consist in the complete segregation of races. I have read Professor Simpons's Sanitation Report twice over very carefully indeed.. If he had taken the position purely of an expert what he advised would be more convincing. But his political bias is evident throughout, and he has often written, not as a sanitarian, but as a politician. Furthermore, he appears to me to have missed out of account a very large and increasing number of Indians who are adopting in their completeness modern sanitary methods. It is not segregation which will increase the number of these but close association. "The segregation' policy, therefore, if run to the extreme, is as short-sighted as the 'exclusion' policy with regard to immigration. Both policies have got all the character of panic legislation. Both policies owe their popular support to racial dislike.

"Segregation" and "exclusion" in fact, go or stand together. The one is the obverse of a medal of which the other is the reverse. My Association need only look to the example of South Africa to see how, having secured the virtual exclusion of Asiatic Immigration, the active anti Asiatic party is now endeavouring—even there the Dominion Government has not succeeded in doing what Lord Milner is now sanctioning in East Africa—to secure the compulsory segregation of the Indian population in locations. He has however, set his face against "exclusion" and my Association submits that the corollary follows that, if Indian immigration is to continue, it should be on such conditions as to residence as are calculated to preserve and encourage the sentiment of self-respect and good citizenship on the part of the Indian immigrants and their compatriots already settled within the Colony.

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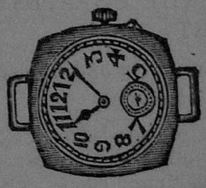

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